1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

cousin-in-avoidance—is the man's *ilamutu*. The father calls the child my *ilamutu;* the child calls the father my *matua*. No such term would be applied to the child of a brother adopted by the brother's sister, nor to a grandchild adopted by grandparents.

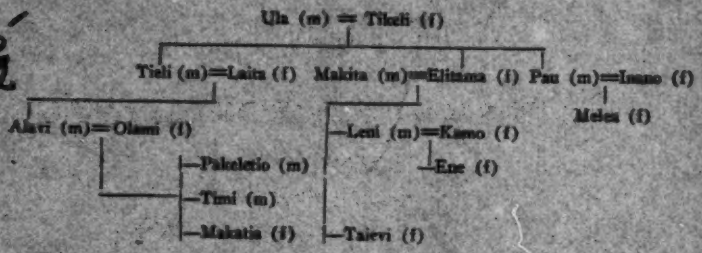
Hutchin (18) is the authority for the statement that *inakava* (*sic*) is the term applied to the daughter of a sister. What this means is not clear. The word *yinakava* is archaic and is found only in old chants. It is applied to anything or anybody which is tapu. Hence the god house on a double canoe or a sacred structure is *yinakava*. Similarly one who stands in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance to the speaker is *yinakava* to the speaker. A man might call his cousin-in-avoidance my *yinakava*, but only under stress of emotion as in mourning ceremonies; in a love chant one's cousin-in-avoidance may be addressed, by poetic metaphor, as *yinakava*.

Avoidance relations hold between those who are related to each other as *hainga vaikava* or as *vaile atua*, and differ in intensity for the two types of relationship. The *vaile atua* relationship involved more complete avoidance. But what constituted the difference between the two relationships is hard to distinguish at this date, as both have largely disappeared under missionary influence. Groups of informants were decidedly unclear on the subject, some giving as *vaile atua*, for instance, the names of people who did not themselves recognize their *vaile atua* relationship to the others. Pau gave the clearest definition of both terms:

> First cousins of opposite sex, whether cross or parallel, stand to each other in the relationship of *hainga vaikava*. In the next generation, children of opposite sex of these *hainga vaikava* are *vaile atua* to each other. In the next generation children of opposite sex of *vaile atua* are also *vaile atua*, and so on, theoretically as long as the common bond of descent is remembered. Children of the same sex of *hainga vaikava* are *taina* to each other. Children of these *taina*, as also children of *taina*, themselves the children of brother and sister, if of opposite sex, are *vaile atua* to each other. Similarly, children of the same sex, of *vaile atua* are *taina* to each other, but children of opposite sex, of these *taina*, are *vaile atua*, because, in both cases, the remembered ancestors two generations back were either *vaile atua* or *hainga vaikava* to each other. This is illustrated in the genealogy:

> Mata and Tekoma are brother and sister. Their children, cross cousins of the same sex, are *taina* to each other. The children of these *taina*, Lotoa and Eliu, are *vaile atua* because they are related through *taina*, first cousins of the same sex, who again are descended from blood brother and sister. Children of Eliu and Lotoa, of the opposite sex, are *vaile atua* to each other.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans



In the above genealogy, the three children of Ula and Tikeli, Tieli, Elitama, and Pau are brothers and sister. Their children of opposite sex are *hainga tuakana*. Meles is a *hainga tuakana* of Alavi and Leni; Taievi is *hainga tuakana* to Alavi. In the next generation, children of these four are *tuale atua* if of opposite sex, *taina* if of the same sex. Hence, Pakeletio and Timi are *tuale atua* to Ene; Makatia and Ene are *taina*. Children of these last two, if of opposite sex, will be *tuale atua*, because their parents are one generation below those who are *hainga tuakana* to each other.

Midst the general confusion, Veti and other informants believed that the *tuale atua* relationship arose only when there was a first-born female with brothers and sisters in the generation level from which descent was traced. This characterization would have more weight if there were other patterns in Pukapukan society pointing to the importance of the first-born female in the formulation of kinship patterns and practices. Since there are no such patterns, it is best to regard Veti's belief as incorrect and merely an example of the confusion that holds today regarding kinship structure.

Kinship tapus and avoidances may be summarized as follows:

Hainga tuakana may not marry or have love affairs with each other. They may talk together at a family meeting or when others are present, but such talk must be brief, and must be done with downcast eyes. They may talk together privately only under extreme provocation, as, for instance, to warn one another of impending danger; yet even in such an instance the rule is not often broken. They may sleep in the same room with other relatives, but not on the same mat or under the same mosquito net. They may eat together publicly, provided they eat from different food platters. Some informants say *hainga tuakana* may pass each other on the road, perhaps with a brief greeting; others believe they should not pass on a path.

Tuale atua tapus are more stringent, demanding a total avoidance. *Tuale atua* may never communicate or talk directly to each other. They may never be in the same house together. They must avoid each other on a public road. They may be together at a public meeting, but must occupy places as far apart as possible. This tapu includes the husband or wife of a *tuale atua* in relation to the reciprocal *tuale atua*. Thus, the husband may talk to, but not wrestle with, the *tuale atua* of his wife. He may go in a fishing canoe with her *tuale atua*, provided a third party is present. He may not talk privately to his wife's *tuale atua* to proffer requests for fishhooks or gear, but must wait patiently until the *tuale atua* notices his need. Children of *tuale atua* may speak to their parents' *tuale atua*. If, while a husband is beating his wife, her *tuale atua* appears, the husband desists immediately because of the taps relation between the two people. A whipped wife might take refuge from her husband with her husband's *tuale atua*, knowing

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

[578] In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a 584 boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

605 The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by 602 the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension 760 by the repression of strong avoidances; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 200.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the tapu at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

605 The tapus between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become 881 sociological adults (*wakatane* and *wahenemoine*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are 867 considered children unable to understand the kinship tapus. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the time of puberty the kinship tapus that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the tapus have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-tapu relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest tapu is established.

605 When the adopted (*kohoti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a 597 *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he ceases to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *kohoti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Elia and Lotoa (p. 259):

> Lotoa is some years older than Elia. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotoa to cross the road one day to the rear of Elia's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Elia retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Veti, Lotoa's husband,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 visits at the house of Elia, and Mailagi, Elia's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Elia nor Lotoa visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *uaki atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *uaki atua* are involved in a case. Neither *uaki atua* will appear in court to act as
695 witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *uaki atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense *tapu* that exists between *uaki atua* relatives is supported by
835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

588 Sometimes in spite of the *tapu* *uaki atua* become so shameless as to consummate an
753 emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two *uaki atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *uaki atua* incest in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pokuia who married his *uaki atua*, Woeten, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *uaki atua*, whom he married in an access of Christian zeal with no idea of proving that old tapus were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

[171]

602 The attraction of *uaki atua* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love
539 chants (*hupa*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a consummated affection of one *uaki atua* for another. When asked for rationalizations
835 for the *uaki atua* tapu, informants could only quote the two following sections from *hupa*. The rationalization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Matalihi koe, ko Tuia au
Ko oaua aa koe pukou
Wuli nei, e tuku wale atua
E tiaoloua, e hungo mitoga
Ko waiwawo aku matatiki;
Tuai nake pawa ga au pukou e au tuwale ki.

You are Matalihi (the Pleiades), I am Tuia (Orion)
(We Two) like two heavenly together (as do those stars)
Turn to me, oh my *uaki atua*
You are cursed, you are the tapu place
(For which) my heart has longed;
(When I see you) my pulse pounds like the
[illegible] (blowing) of the light winds.

The second chant runs:

Ko wakawhawai aki ai au
Ko Tuia nuiga i te ai tuli.

Wakawaiawa oaua ai au
Koe wawa( ) nake tai hungoa,
Ko nake hai wakaua ki hoe;
I hai ne nake tuku atuatua,
Ko tuuli au ne mai au,
Nake alli au au te ngatuale,
Wuli nei koe ko atuatua.
Wuwaki aua tuwa atuatua: wakaiga aua ko aua?

I had found my desire (in my *uaki atua*),
The full-born ogress (herself to me) and satisfier my desire,
Dead is my heart (with shame),
Gone to my elemental food,
With my lament for you;
Unmentionable is the thing of my heart,
(I am) dragged back (by it) to where you sit,
I return near (this place) by the main road,
I go here to me (for you are my self),
I hide our secret understanding: we shall have intercourse, shan't we?

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*wale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*wakatuye*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

It was tapu for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This tapu is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this tapu was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *wakaavanga*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unseemly, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for banked-up emotions.

As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*matonga*) of mats, malos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[12] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of nuts or talo, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in special frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[12] A literal translation. The Polynesian greeting is both inhalation and nose pressure with emphasis on repeated inhalations.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

839 served husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men. No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.

864 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes
858 to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
561 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[6]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[7] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They refered principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [6] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 133-43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up
582 that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousins-in-avoidance (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 299-69). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generation several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly taps to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes ~~not~~ disapproval among the old.

[7] Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms.,